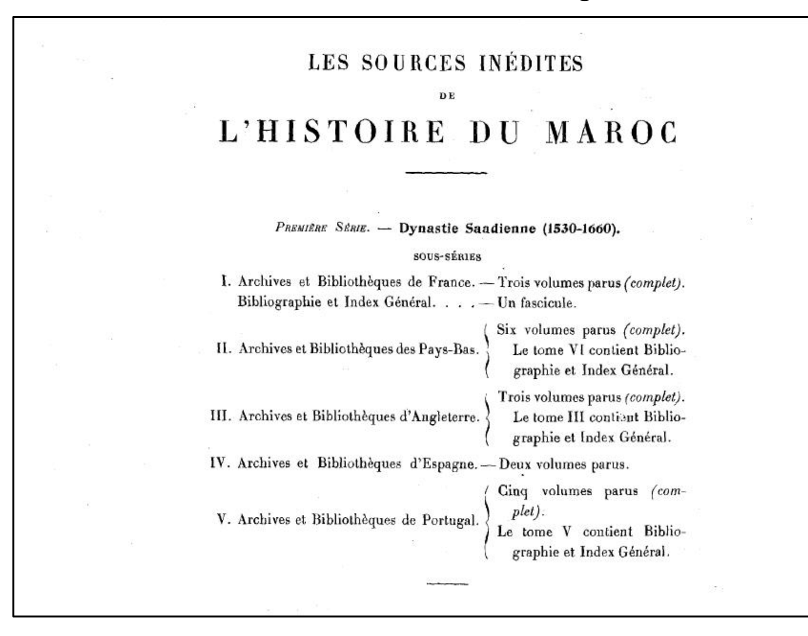
Only those volumes and tomes that refer to Jan in some way are necessary; and they must be available. Note that what is called a 'volume' in this list is given the name 'tome' in the actual work. The Roman numerals in this list are called 'volumes' in the actual books. The following are done:



LES SOURCES INÉDITES

DE

L'HISTOIRE DU MAROC

Première Série. — **Dynastie Saadienne (1530-1660).**

SOUS-SÉRIES

I. Archives et Bibliothèques de France. — Trois volumes parus *(complet)*.
Bibliographie et Index Général. . . . — Un fascicule.

II. Archives et Bibliothèques des Pays-Bas. — Six volumes parus *(complet)*. Le tome VI contient Bibliographie et Index Général.

III. Archives et Bibliothèques d'Angleterre. — Trois volumes parus *(complet)*. Le tome III contient Bibliographie et Index Général.

IV. Archives et Bibliothèques d'Espagne. — Deux volumes parus.

V. Archives et Bibliothèques de Portugal. — Cinq volumes parus *(complet)*. Le tome V contient Bibliographie et Index Général.

I.	T 1, 2, 3	ends 1736
II.	T 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	ends 1660
III.	T1, 2	ends 1660
IV.	T 1, 2	ends 1558
V.	T1, 2, 3, 4, 5	ends 1580

Missing: England III: T3

Note that there are errors in the records that were caught by de Castries and corrected in the footnotes; how many errors he did not catch is not known.

I. France T1. records end before 1590.

I. France T2. DONE

On pages 231 - 311 is a description of Morocco from 1596, divided into 12 royal regions or *royaumes*.

It is noted that the regions found under Merinid rule, the predecessors of the Saadian dynasty, had 16 regions, including that of Doukkala [future home of Oualida] but that a description from an anonymous Portuguese places it in the Kingdom of Morocco. No mention is found of Oualida, which makes sense as, technically, did not exist; likewise nothing was found on its predecessor Aïer.

Appertaining to Salee it is said that despite being within the geographic limits of the *royaume of Fez*, it depended on *caids* appointed by the *governor of Marrakesh* for its rule until Moulay Ahmed el-Mansour ended that anomaly, substituting his nomination of the *caid* of that *town of corsairs* as his vice-regent [p. 238]. In the first section, covering the royaume of Morocco, meaning Marrakesh, the description of Salee, described as a *sidades maritimes*, states that it is not part of the kingdom of Fez, but it is under the rule of the kingdom of Morocco [Marrakesh], i.e. Sultan al-Mansour. The *alcaide [caid] of Salee*, who, according to custom, rules here as vice-regent, is appointed by the King of Marrakesh [Morocco; p. 266]. Distance to Salee from Marrakesh was 46 leagues and is described as having 4 sections – an old section where the kings of the Berbers resided, Alcassava [now Rabat], a section on the bay where there is a bridge over the river and another not-described part. The harbor either has 30 galleons fit for major, or oceanic, navigation, or is capable of holding that many.

I. France T3.   DONE

INTRODUCTION p.xliv–xlvii - Gives history on Aier and Oualida and how Zidan pursued the need to have a Sa'adian controlled Atlantic port as none except Safi were; the rest were held by Christians are had become independent. Aier is in the vicinity of the port of d'Emendera on the 1607 Mercator map that the Portuguese had built. [***c1609***] The Dutch were the first to analyze the place and had recognized the difficulty, if not impossibility, of establishing a good anchorage in this place and had lost interest in the matter.. Zidan convinced of the need to have on the Atlantic coast a port other than Safi. In **May 1623** the people of Aier are said to be in revolt against Zidan. June 1623 Admiral Hermitte of the United Provinces cruised his ships along the Doukkela coast and took his ships for the Spanish fleet and landed in Aier. An alarmed Zidan rushed to the lagoon and decided to look elsewhere; he had just pledged financial incentives to someone, already in bio. Zidan looked to Azemmour, where a Dutch renegade Morato, recognized the opportunity to establish one by building dykes. Saint-Mandrier convinced Zidan to give up the project of Azemmour. The renegade Morato was enraged and denounced Saint-Mandrier as a spy of Spain. The realization of Oualida from Aier was by el-Walid who had to raise the edge of the lagoon to build the Kasbah.

p. LXXV: 30 April 1635 - Moulay el-Oualid was in Aïer, supervising the works of his **kasba of El-Oualidya**, where he employed Christian slaves.

p. 25: Abgib, the caïd Adjib, a Spanish renegade slave of Moulay Zidân, was sent to Salé around 1626 to replace Ez-Zarouri as caïd of the Hornacheros; he was massacred in 1627.

p.54 - 55: 1619 – XIII: Instructions for Molle (Probably François de Boniface de La Molle, knight of Malta on 1585, commander of Puymoisson on February 11, 1592; he was the son of Jean Paul do Boniface de La Molle, lord of the said place, gentleman of the King's chamber and brother of Jacques de Boniface de La Molle, king's adviser to the parliament of Aix on December 14, 1618.)

Away from Merrakech by the revolt of Yahia hen Abdallah, Moulay Zidân had transported his mahalla in the tribe of Doukkala between Safi and Mazagan (1618-1619). This is how his attention drew him to the port or rather to the lagoon of Aïer located 20 kilometers northeast of Cape Cantin. The captain of Saint-Mandrier sent on the spot by the Sultan concluded that it was possible to open a channel in this lagoon by blowing up some rocks. In the meantime, the French agent Du Mas, who had come to negotiate the purchase of a few Marseille captives, was made aware of the question; he left around February 20, 1619 with an envoy from Moulay Zidân, named Sidi Farès, who had the mission of obtaining the restitution of the Sultan's books. After arriving at the Court, Du Mas pointed out the advantages which the opening of a port in Aïer would present and presented the Sultan with the possibility of obtaining the concession of this site. A project to establish a Company for the development of the future port was presented to Louis XIII, who gave instructions to Monsieur de La Molle concerning the study of the country, the negotiations to be opened with Saint-Mandrier and the Sultan, as well as the various privileges to be granted to the said Company. In all likelihood, La Molle did not accompany Du Mas on his return to Morocco. He who brought, without doubt, no satisfactory answer on the subject of the books of Moulay-Zidân "neither knew nor did not dare" to begin the negotiations relating to the concession of Aïer and the project was not put into execution. For their part, the Dutch and the Spanish sent representatives to the lagoon of Aïer, which caused among the tribes of the coast a great excitement. The development of the port of Aïer was not undertaken by Moulay Zidân, but his successor Moulay el-

Oualid took over the project and finished it in 1634; Christian slaves built the kasbah here which was named El-Oualidia and to improve the channel of the lagoon, the salt of which the charif exploited; he even intended to build a royal residence with gardens there. (note 2): If we refer to Birago, Hist. di Portogallo, the Portuguese occupied the point of Aïer in 1640, and the governor of the fortress of Aïer is said to have declared himself at the same time as that of Mazagan in favor of King John IV of Braganco. [Doubtful as this is the only mention of the Portuguese occupying any Moroccan city this late]

p. 282-3: **24 August 1630** – terms of treaty for 2 (fn 2) years in/with city of Sale: Very Illustrious Commander Razilli, first Admiral of France, After a squadron of ships of the King of Britain, and the general fleet that present this to yet in this port and only of Salé…FN 1: Deputies took one copy of the Treaty back to Salé with the additional clause but governors refused to sign.FN 2: term was 6, not 2, years. FN 3: Subsequently, Salé les.Moriscos did not want to admit that catches held between August 24 and September 3, were declared null.

p.285: Item: the capitulations and assignments that your Majesty, the Most Christian King of France, who is humbly supplicant to grant freedom to the Andalucians and Moors that are *tomarron i*n Lebante in the patache of Captain Bencarte and in the carrabella of Morat Rais
FN 4: notes discrepancies in different language versions of treaty: French: *vessels from the port of Salé during wartime after merchants* is different from the Spanish which uses *corso*, meaning corsairs which the French language has no equivalent.

pp.289 - Captain Pallot description of Razilly embassy of 12 July to 1 Sept 1630. Relates same story of meeting Razilly mentioning Morateres, Admiral of the said Sale, as found in Mustapha account

p.290: 23 July – the fleet arrives in the harbor of Sallee and at the instant of arrival 3 ships in the harbor are sunk….

2 August 1630: Met with the important men of the town and the principals of the Divan in the office of the French Commander Razilly on board with an envoy sent to Sallee for the advancement of business affairs. Later this same day, Morat Rais, Admiral of Salee, with several other captains, demenderent surety for meet and greet with our Commander, which was granted, where they were received and treated with honor. Razilly and Du Charlat expressed only goodwill towards them and on their return, asked them for peace and return of any enslaved Frenchmen when they have surveyed where they are held, in this city.

pp.292 - 296 - 3 Sept 1630 – Capitulations and articles of treaty between Sale and France attested to by the Governors and Captains of Sale and all jurisdictions under its authority and on behalf of the Sultan and by Admiral OF THE French Navy, Commander Razilly et al for Cardinal Richlieu and the King of France.

on p.295 When His Most Christian Majesty is asked to assist the Andalusian Moors and taken in the ship of captain Benehart en Levant, the caravelle of Morat Rays shall be made freely available.

p.304 - 366 Jean Armand Mustapha, description of Razilly embassy of June to November 1630. on p.309 is 'That same day [2 August] Morat Rays, admiral of their vessels and several captains of the city having received all the assurances they asked to meet Commander Razilly ...in our ships, where they were received honorably. After compliments received from both sides, they protested on behalf of their governors that they had not a greater desire than to render expressions of affection to your Most Christian Majesty with whom they would be very glad to live in peace & good friendship*,* …. After these

protests, Morat Rays entreated Mr. Razilly to send him a passport to go to sea in one of his vessels, he had everything ready, when on course [a privateering run] near France they will not attack their vessels, nor those of the allies of the Crown within ten leagues of the coast of France, rather they will protect from all Turc pirates and others, without discrimination or exception; which is granted to it under these conditions.

p.310: This being done, Morat Rays & his company returned to the city, and with them went [the captain Du Pré] Sir Hilary without the vessels owners, said Sale … [*in a footnote 2 deCastries offers several aliases and the wrong 1618 kidnapping and conversion story again without references other than to P-B and English volumes of SIHM, which do not provide support for the incorrect statements*]

pp. 313-315: On 17 August the parties reconvened, including Moray RAYS, TO CONCLUDE PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS which are expected to last until the 19th. Morat Rays to host the parties at his house and provide for all needs. Morat is mentioned again where it says he asserts the reputation of the Republic [is good against that of Morocco]

pp. 448 – 460: Travel of Antoine Gabiron in Morocco from 6 December 1633 to end of April 1644; dated 9 July 1644

p.451: **15 March 1644** – summoned to Palace and waited in a gallery with 3 others, one he identifies as the Caid Morat Francois. In FN 1 de Castries states: Do not confuse Morat François with Morat Rais the Dutch renegade who was Admiral of Salé, nor with Morat Genevois

pp.461 - 470: LXIX Account of captain Antoine Gabiron, envoy for the King, Louis XIII

Dépense du monsieur Gabiron pour son voyage de Maroc, 1633 – 1634.

p. 467:

12 avril, partys de Marroq (left Marrakesh for Safi) pour aller à Safi, et en chemin accepté un mouton et de poules pour donner aux soldatz et paie (and on the way accepted a sheep and some hens to give to the soldiers for pay): 12 Ltz (livre tournez)

23rd suis arrivé à Safi, ayans paie aux portiers et au trucheman (porters & interpreter) cinq livres: 5 Ltz

26th: baillé à l'alcaïde Morat, pour la penne qu'il a prins de m'avoir conduit de Marroq à Saffis, vingt-trois ducatz: Presented myself to the Alcaid Morat and paid him 53 ducats for having me brought safely from Marrakesh to Safi: 115 Ltz

A ses soldatz qui ont aussy aide quinze livres: (For his soldiers who also helped): 15 Ltz

A l'alcaïde Sayd, lyvré à l'alcaïde Morat pour luy porter une pièce de Cambrais accepté à Saffy cinquante livres: (from Alcaid Sayd, delivered to Alcaid Morat a piece of Cambrais (cheese?) accepted at Safi for 50 livres: 50 Ltz

To the alcaïde Hemed Agadet, for delivering to Morat a piece of Cambrais worth 50 livres: 50 Ltz

To the lieutenant of said Morat, his sergeant and three alcaïdes who came with them, to share between them 23 ducatz: 115 Ltz

To Morat for the provisions for return, 2 ducats: 10 Ltz

Five ducats sent to Marrakesh by Morat for the eunuch and two *almichauris* (advisors?) who kept me apprised of what was happening near the Sultan, who I did not get to see before I left: 25 Ltz

To the Moors who helped with the tent and handling the horses, five pounds: 5 Ltz

For the cost of the horses while we stayed in Safi, 2 ducats: 10 Ltz

For the porter who was sent to Marrakech, to obtain the pass for my leaving received 19 April: 15 Ltz
p 468:

To the Alcaïde Abilcherin, governor of Safi, and to Sidi Messabut, the Sultan's agent in Safi, 24 *coubdes* (elbows?) from Rouen to everyone, accepted 2 ounces and a half an elbow(?): 39 Ltz

A sieur Guerin, pour un quintal de biscuyt envoyé de mon ordre aux captifs françois à la Goladie, sept livres cinq solz (To Mr. GuerinFor a quintal of biscuit sent from me to the French captives at Oualidia) 7 livres 5 solz: 32 Ltz, 10 s

To carry letters from Salle to Safi and from Safi to Marrakesh at various times: 10 Ltz

To a young eunuch of Renés in Bretaigne who is very needy, given 1 ducat: 5 Ltz

For other sick eunuchs, gave them two ducats: 10 Ltz

To the security officers on land and sea, the interpreter, the Negros from the house of the Sultan, porters, seamen and captains of Safî's boats to be our pilots to the sea, the customs officials; for Sidi Messehut, paid among all: 38 Ltz, 15 s

On the last day of April, left Safi accompanied by a boat from Moors, and went to embark in the harbor on the raider (ship) and sent provisions for: 25 Ltz

Paid for my expenses, my servant, and several other Christians in Safi for seventeen day stay: 55 Ltz

p.533 – Compte de la marine de Ponant, 1636; A true account of the reciepts and expenditure made by the Treasurer General of the port at Ponant:
Morat Rays of Sale, for his return to Rochelle - 36 livre (Note states this is **Morat Rais from Genoa)**

<u>II. Pays-Bas, T1 – DONE</u>

The legal arguments around the Bois de Bresil matter places Jan in Salee prior to Nov 1609 where he has taken a prize that is being disputed. Bois de Bresil is the primary owner, Jan is one of the prize claimants, Pallache represents the Sultan's claim to ownership as it was a cargo on an enemy ship. Because of the 1609 truce, ships flying the Dutch flag are no longer considered enemies of Morocco who is at war with Spain but not the Netherlands.

p. 383-5 – request from ca'id Hammou Ben Bachir, Ambassador of the Sulton, to States-General, La HAGUE, before 7 Nov 1609 – discusses a prize taken on behalf of Sultan as it was carrying provisions for his enemies. Footnote - Cargo Sultan paid for to [Jan] Jansz, Carel de Jonge 'et consorts' and something about the Society that holds the monopoly on the bois. Requesting a written Resolution that supports the Sultan's determination.

p 393-7 Request for change of venu to Magistrates of Amsterdam, before 12 Nov 1609 - Jan Jansz, Carel de Jonge, Symon Willemsz Nooms 'et consorts' versus Samuel Pallache concerning the matter of the prize taken valued at 10,000 livres. Ltr contains several requests for determinations of findings in support of Sultan's ruling. Something about the one who seized the ship refuses to take the vessel as payment and they are placing a claim against the owner for that amount. There are several alternate solutions presented – all of which sound to not be cost-effective – as a way to force acceptance of Sultan's decision.

p.398-400 – ltr from Amsterdam Magistrates to States-General, La Hague, 12 Nov 1609 – footnote explains that there are 3 separate actions happening simultaneously [1] Society for bois bresil, primary reclaimants for possession against CdJ and assoc; [2] action to obtain a ruling in favor of CdJ and assoc that it was a valid prize and obtain a release to disperse merchandize; [3] action of CdJ and assoc against Samuel Pallache to stop him from obtaining a ruling in his favor as the supposed ruling of the Sultan is fake. Pallache appeared before the Magistrates as defendant from complaint of JJ, CdJ, SWN request change-of-venue to Amsterdam as Samuel Pallache is in Amsterdam and will not be conducting business on behalf of the Sultan in La Hague. And something about the prisoners Paul van Lippeloo and Alonzo Peres. Magistrate pray the States-General review the matter and inform the Magistrates of their decisions and that they are ready to proceed in Amsterdam if that is their decision.

p. 403-407 – ltr from the Amsterdam Magistrates, addendum 1, Nov 1609 – determination of the procurer of demands – [1] the pirates that seized the ship and cargo did not have a letter-of-marque therefore [2] they were not operating on behalf of the Sultan rendering his opinion moot. [3] Morocco is only at war with Spain, not Paris- La Havre, therefore the seized vessel is not a legal prize. [remember the 12 year truce began in 1609 which removed all Dutch vessels from consideration as Spanish ships] Demand that the retransfer of ownership back to original owners should be put into effect. William Vinck, procurer for Cornelius Croon,

pp. 411, 412, 416, 428, 433, 435, 439-440 - continuing correspondence on Bois de Bresil case; final entry is dated 1 December 1609 and is the verdict of the States-General in the matter of the Society of the Bois de Bresil located in Bresil or Portugal of the first part and CdJ et al and the Moroccan Ambassador for the Sultan of the second part. The pirates were not in the right to seize the vessel and title to it is awarded to the original owner. However, the Sultan's claim to the vessel is a legal and valid one as Portugal is a crownland of Spain, an enemy of Morocco. He is entitled to possession of the vessel but not a cash payment in lieu of ownership.

p. 473 – 5 March 1609 – battle of Bou-Regreb btw Zidan and NOT his brothers Abdallah and Abou Fares *[which was a month before JJvH shows up in Sale, perhaps he had a role in the battle]*

pp.473-4 Sidi Brahim, 1609 – when Zidan headed north against Fez, the south elected a new 'king' Sidi Brahim. Zidan's army of 3,000 deserted due to poor food and no pay. A second army of 2,000 was sent in August

II. Pays-Bas T2. DONE
p. 118 – revolt of Abou Mahalli of Fez begins 1610-1626; on 20 Nov 1610 Moulay ech-Cheik transferred the port of Larache to Spain in exchange for support for his pretensions to the throne; this event signaled the start of the revolt of Abou Mahalli who died 30 Nov 1613. *[Larache remained in Spanish hands until 1689, though their presence was nominal; succeeded by son Moulay Abdallah ben ech-Cheikh, aka Abdallah II, ruled Fez from 1613 – 1624 who continued to pose a serious threat due to size of armies – 5,000 in Dec 1623 marched over Atlas to Marrakesh, forcing Zidan to abandon capital for a short period, rule passed to Abdallah II's son Abd el Malik III until 1626 when the revolt ended]*

II. Pays-Bas T3.
Aier – extracted info directly into JJvS bio.

p.244-5; letter from Isaac Pallache, son of Samuel not Joseph, to States General **13 April 1623**, Salee pirates arrived in port on or with 2 prizes – *le Lion Verde* and *le Veneur* – talked with the governor, Ca'id Abd el-Aziz ez-Zarouri, about liberty for captives and was referred to the Captain of the Port, Jan Jansen van Harlem who got the Governor to release the Dutch sailors who were on those ships; but the Scottish seamen have not been released. It is necessary that captains originating in or subjects of the Netherlands have a commission from the Prince of Orange. When asked, they claimed to have sailed from Rotterdam. Cornelius Jansz. a skipper from Rotterdam and Christian van Gool, a painter from Tiel, embarked on a ship of JJvH. The governor of the castle is appointed by the King but the real authority is JJvH.

p.269; Moïse St. Jago is the secretary to the Ca'id – JJvH – see SIHM, s.1, v.1, France, t.3, pp.313-4

p. 270-272 – Journal of Albert Ruyl, **14 Dec 1622** – JJvH is Caid of Sale

14 Dec 1622 - The evening we were joined, on the harbor, by JJvH having with him a small ship he had taken under the Torre de Catalán in Lepe on the Bay of Cadiz near the border with Portugal. We hoped it would help us get back to our people.

15 Dec 1622 – all the renegades of Sale are under the command of JJvH. He and- his secretary receive A FIFTH OF all the prizes coming into port for the upkeep of the Kasbah and pay for the soldiers who are all Andalusian; and they receive a tax of 5 percent on all GOODS and on everything produced/earned by the Moors. All this is granted them by the King of Morocco, who does not draw a penny; so that the said Salé channel will soon become a famous haunt of pirates, because now their fleet already has thirteen vessels and the above channel has, during daily tide, eleven to twelve feet deep, thirteen or fourteen during the ordinary high tide, and in the rainy season, due to the rising water, about eighteen feet, while in the low tide bar is almost dry. Jan came onboard and we were given all the Dutch who wanted to be free, 13 men and 2 boys, Dutch and some English by Jan and according to several of the men Jan treated the Dutch well.

description of Rabat and Salee – the Kasbah, called Rabat, is on the south bank and Salee is on the north. Kasbah and its battlement are on an elevated rock allowing for protection of the river banks and Salee; the entrance and ramp to the Kasbah is blocked against entry and it is armed with 6 small 'metal' cannons from Portugal and 70 iron ones all with bad carriages. The town is protected by 3 levels of artillery. The fortified garrison has 1500 Andalusians – who are the mortal enemies of the inhabitants of

the town who are all Moors. Navigation on the river is not possible past the Kasbah. All contribute to the cost according to their means, for one l00, others 50, 20, 10 and less ducats and participate in the profit sharing of the spoils.

fn – ltr of Ruyl, dated **17 Feb 1623** – I am in contact with Mr. Pallache, who promised to put the request to His Majesty, but I'm afraid it cannot do much, because those of Salé ignore him, as bluntly declared by some Andalous. The kasbah, situated on the southern bank of the river, is master of river navigation, of which the city does not care at all [*because their ships are anchored below the kasbah*?], and because of such, they are in permanent war against each other and both mutually distrust the state, especially as the Moors of the city are more attached to the king of Fez mortal enemy of the Andalusians, as of Moulay Zidan, while most Arabs and peasants, I have learned, give little support to His Majesty, because of his unfair taxation. I will not fail/miss, however, to request the return of such goods as much as possible. [*Fez was under the mistaken impression that Zidan died in June 1609 and this may have fed into the revolt the following year as the city had proclaimed its vice-regent, Zidan's brother, as Sultan. Once he saw the support he had, and the poor repute of Zidan as regards food and pay for the army, he took his chance. Moulay Abdallah ben ech-Cheikh, aka Abdallah II, ruled Fez from 1613 - 1624 – Dec 1623 Ruyl writes from Safi, where Zidan first went after vacating Marrakesh, about whole country in being in rebellion due to Zidan's bad economics; population fears the approach of Moulay Abdallah with his army, over the Atlas to attack Marrakesh; de Castries misidentifies him as Zidan's brother and correctly identifies him as his nephew, the son of Mohammed es-Cheikh el-Mamoun aka Mohammed IV; rule passed to his son Abd el Malik III until 1626 – note that the princes of Dila, under the 2nd prince, Sidi Mohammed, who held sway in Sale, started their revolt at the same time but it lasted until 1631 when the marabout recognized the authority of El-Walid AFTER yet another schism lasting 1627 – 1631 when a rival brother yet again revived and claimed the title sultan of Fez. Additional discord was caused by the support of the population of Sale for the Marabout Sidi Brahim. Note that in 1603 Marrakesh***,** *which was the Sa'adian capital, acclaimed the sultan* ***as*** *Abu Faris Abdallah; jurists in Fez in 1609, announced that Mohammed III had succeeded to the throne based MAINLY on wrong information that Zidan was dead but denying the legality of Zidan's claim to the throne and consequently making any designation of an heir to succeed him on the throne a null and void declaration*],

pp. 276-284 Dec 1622 to March 1623 Ruyl Journal has multiple references to Anthonis Jansz Captain of the *Flessingue* but none name him as the son of Jan.

There are several more references to the Caid and Governor of Salee without a specific name so it is impossible to know who the subject is as there is some overlap in the appellation of titles and also an individual's penchant for using a title as meaning a specific person, e.g. Pallache seems to call JJvH the Captain and Abd el-Aziz the Caid while Ruyl uses Ca'id for both men at different times. As the power structure is unclear, so is the use of titles – the 'governor of the castle' being appointed by the King makes no sense if the Republic is independent unless the Sultan holds the castle as protection against an uprising; there is also an official of the port called Captain or Ra'is and a governor of the town – perhaps all uses are correct – JJvH was both captain/ra'is of the port and governor/ca'id of the town while el-Aziz was the 'governor' of the castle – commonly named castellan in Europe. If castle and Kasbah are synonymous, then the Sultan is placing Andalusians there as soldiers specifically to quell any opposition to his authority by other groups such as the Valencians and Hornachos as a 'natural' antipathy exists between the groups.

p.513 – JJvH facilitated the sale of prizes brought into Salee by Claes Gerritz Compaen **c1624-5**

II. Pays-Bas T4

P.10 – ltr of Moises Pallache to States-General, **18 Aug 1624**; handwritten in margin is Jan Jansen van Haerlem is **general** of Salee. Announcement of appointment. The captain of the Court is Morato Araïs de Salé, also called Jan Jansez. van Harlem and to the Royal Majesty accorded him General of Salé for Navigation. Letters patent arriving. Submit all matters for consideration to him directly. Footnote – States-General received letter and adopted resolution on **26 Nov 1624**. [note that moises appears as secretary to the Sultan by 1631; listed as such 1624 – 1642 in other sources]

pp.31- 33: **4 Nov 1624**, La Hague: ltr from SG to Zidan- [summary - requesting Sultan assist the owners of the *Vliegende Hert* to recover ship from captain Jan Jansen [JJvH]. The vessel was illegally seized and the cargo fraudulently sold.] Laurens Rutgertsz and others, owners of the vessel, inhabitants of the low Countries, told us the following: The applicants prepared said vessel for a *corso*, with a Commission from the Prince of Orange; the vessel was put under the command of one Jan Ververen, with intent to cause as much damage as possible to our common enemy, the king of Spain and his supporters. Ship departed Amsterdam 5 April. The applicants were sure that this captain, according to his promise made before the noble Lords Councilors of the Admiralty in Amsterdam, that he would provide a good solid bail (security deposit) and he then provides for all maintenance at sea without exceeding in any way his commission. But the captain, who sailed without providing for contingencies had the audacity to sell the cargo of the petitioners. Ververen met up with a certain ship from Setubal with a cargo of salt and [afterwards] visited the ship's owners where they lived in Dunkirk. He then went sailed for Sale and met the other ship there. Ververen surreptitiously unloaded the ship of various goods and reloaded them immediately on other ships ready to leave that port. He received a large sum of money, then abandoned his ship and his men, after, according to what the applicants say they learned, ……
in a letter Ververen had written in Spanish, to the custody of Kaid or governor of Salé, with express orders to only release the ship to those who make application to do so or their authorized agent. Then he sneaked out of port on another ship.

They assume he has hidden a large part of the cargo in Sale or reloaded it on other ships that he will meet up with later or otherwise recover it later.

Laurens Rutgertsz., is ready to take action to reclaim possession of the ship and goods that the captain has hidden and requests Jan contact Zidan to cover cost of ships and goods and to have you deliver same to Admiralty. [see pp. 130-2, 135-6]

pp. 41-43 – request of Youssef Biscaïno, Ambassador of Sultan, to States GENERAL, **13 Nov 1624** – requesting a certification of arms shipment of Portugese merchant Diego Munoz Belmante that were shipped to Morocco in violation of Cherif's orders pursuant to the form required by Jan Jansz, admiral of Salee.

p.74 – **13 Dec 1624** - Jan is still Admiral of Salee

p.99 – **21 Jan 1625** – ltr of Johan de Mortaigne, Commissaris, Brille, to States-General. Interviewed 3 renegados returning to Netherlands on 4 Jan regarding whether or not rovers setting out on a corso are required to have a 'special commission' issued by Admiral? Subject has arisen as a rover, captain Ali Rais, did not have a commission to allow privateering and has been arrested in Zeeland. Reason given is that Morocco is at war with everyone, except the Dutch, so there is no need to have a commission. All 3 answered yes. France and England are behind a lot of the problems the Dutch are having with Morocco and Algiers but whether or not the Dutch troubles are just problems incidental to their actions or if their actions are conceived and executed to cause trouble for the Dutch is not stated. [this is 1338[b] that is referenced in States-General records]

pp. 130-1: **before 2 July 1625**: Memorandum of Jan Jansz, Expenditures for repairs and supplies for ship *Vliegende Hert*; attached to ltr to SG from Zidan dated 2 July 1625, p.132

pp.132-6: **2 July 1625**, ltr to SG from Zidan. As it appears the ship was carrying illegal weapons for Zidan's enemies stepped in and seized the vessel and cargo as allowed under prize law.

p. 250 – Journal of Antonio Keyser **April 1630** – through the actions of the admiral Morat Rais, Jan Jansen van Haerlem, the Dutch prisoners being held at Salee were released.

P.629 Imprint of frontspiece of book 'Une Vue de Merrakesh' [La Hague, 1646] with Adrien Matham's works [that were for Prince Frederick Henry of Nassau] mentions that arriving at Safi ***1641?***, 'they were magnificently received at Safi, in the manner of that country, with trumpets and drums and a large number of soldiers with muskets, accompanied by the very noble Governor of the town, Captain Jan Janszen d'Haerlem, having before all a richly caparisoned horse' [ostensibly for Lysbeth].

p.362 In 1634 el-Walid built on the site of Aier a new fort, Kasbah, and improved the channel into the lagoon.

<u>II. Pays-Bas T5</u>

*The following group concerns a treaty signed **9 Feb 1651** wherein only the leaders in the Republic signed as they are their own rulers. Sultan's objections to certain clauses are not valid as he is not their sovereign.*

p.238 letter from the Plenipotentiaries of Sale transmitting the documents and treaty signed at Sale 9 Feb 1651 by Saïd Adjenoui, Governor of Sale and the divan of the town and the Ca'ids of the Kasbah delegated El-Hadj Ibrahim Manino and El-Hadj Mohammed Fenich [became Ca'id of Sale 1660-1665] to treat in their names with Gédéon De Wildt and the captains of Pay-Bas

p.,241, same as p.238, except at Rabat by the Ca'ids of Rabat, Brahim Duque, Mohammed Rojas with the chief and captains of the escadre of Pay-Bas,.

pp.242-245 treaty signed 9 Feb 1651 btw Pays-Bas and the Saletines. Contains 10 articles regulating freeing of the other's citizens held captive, preventing any one from bringing in a prize flying the Dutch flag to Sale, etc

pp.247-248 – 10 Feb 1651 ltr from Ca'ids of Rabat to States-General regarding request for list of Dutch captives in Morocco

pp. 249-252 – 11 Feb 1651list of Dutch captives in Sale plus their value – total amount is 104,680.

pp.253-257 – 11 Feb 1651 list of Dutch captives at Rabat plus their value – total amount is 86157.5

p.276 – 8 July 1651 ratification of treaty at La Hague

pp.416-423 ltr sent from Sale from David de Vries to Admiralty, Amsterdam, 20 Sept 1654 – mentions a treaty of 9 Feb 1651 made with Sale and signed for that place by the Ca'ids and Governor of Sale because those people are the ruling authority for both towns, the Kasbah and the Port of Sale. Sidi Abdallah's [who is this? the Sultan was Mohammed in 1654] objections to the treaty are invalid as he is not the sovereign of the signers of the treaty.

p. 27 – **8 May 1643** ltr from S-G to Ca'ids of Sale, Rabat and Kasbah - fn 4 mentions that the 3 republics had recognized the right to rule of the cherif of the zaouia de Dila, Sida Mohammed el-Hadj in 1640

I – xxviii - Introduction of volume is discussion of three republics – Sale, Rabat and Kasbah. Notes that the Kasbah should be designated the Kasbah of Sale, since the town of Rabat came later, with the Kasbah of Oudaia being a familiar name. During the civil war Zidan only garrisoned 20 Sa'adian soldiers and the Ca'id, here translated as Governor, in the Kasbah – a force much too small to be effective. THE POPULATIONS OF THE TWO TOWNS WERE VERY DIFFERENT – Rabat had a very tiny population in 1600 – *most was vacated due to plague epidemic that hit Rabat but not Sale*. Sale's population was very diverse in origin, very hostile and hostile to Christians, and they lived in a state of relative independence [from the Sultan – probably a reference to their self-appointment of Governors during civil war]. The population of Sale supported the Marabout Sidi Brahim who was elected Sultan in 1609 in the south at Marrakesh when Zidan took his army north to take Fez. He sent an army of 3000 but they deserted *in toto* due to poor food and no wages. A second army of 2000 was dispatched in August – how they fared is not mentioned. The Kasbah held the ineffectual Cherifienne [Sa'adian] garrison of 20 and the governor who had no authority. The extensive walls extending from Kasbah enclosed fields of barley and orchards. [*The population of Sale, though including a large number of Muslim refugees from Iberia over the previous 3 centuries, had been stable for generations. they looked askance at these large numbers of new refugees and did their best to keep them out of Sale, hence the Valencians went inland, the Andalusians went to the Kasbah and the Hornachos went to Rabat.]* At some undated point the garrison and Ca'id were ejected from the *Kasbah whether or not this was before the Hornachos moved from Sale to the Kasbah isn't clear – as is not the location of their move – near the Kasbah or in it….*
from 1618 to 1626 6,000 Christian captives and value of prizes exceeded 15 million livres; ***1629 – 1639*** *income 26 – 27 million ducats. Spain is primary target and they are subject to raiding parties on land more frequently than anywhere else, France second in damages, mainly from ships sailing between Brest and the Canaries but with no landings; in 2 years 40 vessels were taken just off the coast at Havre de Grace.*

An exception to the Spanish trade embargo against Morocco was enacted in ***1626*** *that allowed for trade with the Moriscos of Salee only while maintaining a state of war with the country.*

The 1630 Franco-Moroccan Capitulation and Treaty was renewed by el-Walid on ***18 July 1635*** *and it was separately ratified by the ca'ids of the Kasbah and of Rabat on* ***1 Sept 1635****. Pays-Bas has had a treaty in effect since 1610 with it being renewed on* ***3 Aug 1636****.*

The dual gov'ts of Hornacho in the Kasbah and Andalusian in Rabat has brought nothing but discord after a feeble attempt at co-operation in 1630 and a brief period of unification against a common enemy – el-Ayachi. In Sale, when they see the disorder they fear another disaster like el-Mamora or the rise of a religious fanatic like el-Ayachi who distrusts immigrants of dubious faith. In ***1631*** *Sidi al-Ayachi set up a battery of 5 cannons on Sale's river bank with 4 pointed at the Kasbah and the 5th at the bar; and attempted to besiege the Kasbah with 5,000 men who were settled in camp nr the ruins of Chellah. The siege was lifted in* ***Oct 1632*** *and Ayachi went to attack the Spanish fortress…Mamara or Azenmore maybe. In* ***Sept 1636****, the Andalous commandeered the harbor, seized the Kasbah and exiled the Hornachos to Tunis and Algiers. Not satisfied, in the beginning of* ***1637*** *they built a pontoon bridge across the river and moved artillery, infantry and cavalry attacked Sale who resisted with their own forces and those remaining of al-Ayachi when, on* ***3 April*** *the Brit Rainsborough arrived and shelled the bridge and the Andalusian positions, causing them to retreat into the Kasbah where the shelling continued. This was followed by a large-scale attack by Ayachi's forces, and prob Sale, on* ***10 May*** *which ended the*

*Andalusian bid for power. Hornachos allowed to return in **1637** just as Sultan's forces are about to march on Sale to confront the forces of el-Ayachi; this causes an immediate 2-sided fight in the area into pro- and anti-Ayachi camps.*

Republic of Rabat is formed when the Andalusians elect a Ca'id who lives in the Kasbah and they form a 16-member divan with 8 each from Rabat and the Kasbah. Both had a share in prizes.

xv – deCastries includes the wrong 1618 kidnapping and religious conversion story in a footnote. The references he provides are only in other SIHM volumes and to – Heeringa, [K] – *Bronnen - see Heeringa file*

v. In the south, the sedition of the marabout Sidi Brahim [see P-B I pp. 355, 473-4] was the precedent for the major revolt of Abou Mahalli, aka Mohammed IV [see P-B II, p 118 or 148], which threatened Zidan's authority *[signaled by the 1610 transfer of Larache to Spain; lasted until 1626]*

II. Pays-Bas T6

after p. 134 is genealogy of princes of Dila which states the 1st prince, Sidi Abou Beker, provided refuge for those disinherited after al-Mansour's death in 1603; his son, the 2nd prince, Sidi Mohammed, who succeeded his father Sidi Abou Beker in 1612 , did not support Zidan but was a friend of Abou Mahalli and his successors; *see P-B T5 p.v*, did reconcile by recognizing the authority of El-Walid in 1631.

p. 230 Soliman Rais, Irish renegade in Algiers

III. England T1 records date to 1589 DELETED
England T2 records 1590 – 1625 DONE
England T3 records – 4 p review in Hesperis, 1937 offers concise summary
Morat *Rais* search results: pp. 33, 446, 462, 474, 485, 645, 670, 680

IV. Spain T1 & 2 records only date to 1558 DELETED

V. Portugal T1-T4 records up to December 1550, not needed. T5 1552 – 1580.
Maziane states that Portugal ends 1525 which is not correct.

CASTRIES (H. DE). - Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845, 1ère série. Dynastie saadienne (1530-1660). Archives et bibliothèques de France. (Paris, 1905-1911, 3 vol. in-4°.) [Publications de la Section Historique du Maroc.]

CASTRIES (H. DE), CÉNIVAL (P. DE) et COSSÉ-RISSAC (P. DE). - Les sources inédites del'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845, 2e série. Dynastie alaouite. Archives et bibliothèques de France. (Paris, 1922-1953, 5 vol. in-4°.) [Publications de la Section historique du Maroc.]

CASTRIES (H. DE). - Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845, 1ère série. Dynastie saadienne (1530-1660). Archives et bibliothèques des Pays-Bas. (Paris, 1906-1923, 6 vol. in-4°.) [Publications de la Section historique du Maroc.]

CASTRIES (H. DE), CÉNIVAL (P. DE) et COSSÉBRISSAC (P. DE). - Les sources inédites del'histoire du Maroc, 1re série. Dynastie saadienne. Archives et bibliothèques d'Angleterre. (Paris, 1918-1935, 3 vol. in-4°.) Publications de la Section historique du Maroc.]

CASTRIES (H. DE), RICARD (R.) et LA VÉRONNE (C. DE). - Les sources inédites del'histoire du Maroc, 1re série. Dynastie sa'dienne. Archives et bibliothèques d'Espagne. (Paris, 1921-1956, 2 vol. in-4°.) [Publications de la Section historique du Maroc.]

CÉNIVAL (P. DE), RICARD (R.) et LA VÉRONNE (C. DE). - Les sources inédites del'histoire du Maroc, lèe série. Dynastie sa'dienne. Archives et bibliothèques du Portugal. (Paris, 1934-1953, 5 vol. in-4°.) [Publications de la Section historique du Maroc.]